1:Layard E-5 (1914-1915) 1942
0012 Malekula 0012

X196

whom they expect to receive valuable tusked boars during the "circling" rite that immediately precedes the sacrifice.[1]

Date of the great sacrifice announced 17, 27 or 37 days ahead.

When the dance is over, the Speaker, in this case usually a representative from the village from whom the main features of the Maki rite were first purchased, who represents the founder and all those who have previously participated in the rite and thus in himself embodies the "apostolic succession" already mentioned,[2] steps forth, takes some red paint called *na-ul na maki*, literally "Maki paint," and with it paints a circle round the nipples first of a member of the introducing "line" and then of one member of each village represented among the assembled crowd.[3] Then he sits down in the middle of the dancing-ground, holding in his hand a root of a species of kava called *ne-ghe*, called on this occasion *ne-ghe na maki*, "Maki kava root," about a foot and a half long, while all those whose nipples he has painted sit down round him and also hold it.[4] The number of representatives is said to be often so great that some have to stretch exceedingly so that their hands may touch the root. When all are ready, and there is not one who is not touching, they all utter a nasal

[1] It will be noticed that, according to my record, the members of this "line" dance *Settling-Down* alone twice, once at the beginning of the rotation of villages (at the *Vin ni ghih*) and again now at the end. As the presentation of tusked boars by "circling" is, so far as I know, never done by the "fathers" and "sons" who compose the introducing "line," but only by relatives-in-law, it is probable that I have here in some way misunderstood my informant. I leave my note, however, as it stands, but make the suggestion that in all probability all the guests from other villages dance as well as the members of the introducing "line," and that the use of spears by the Maki-men represents a kind of grand finale in which they repeat the symbolic presentations made during the dancing of parties from individual villages.

[2] See p. 282.

[3] I did not enquire into the meaning of this, but it would appear that this act is symbolic of the fact that the Maki-men are about to be "re-born," and that all those previously re-born, though men and not necessarily in the direct female line, are in some way regarded as their mothers.

[213]
824

[4] Kava is not drunk in the Small Islands, nor, so far as I know, in any part of Malekula except by the chiefs of the Big Nambas, the nearest approach to this custom in Vao being the special communion rite held on the anniversary of the death of a man of high rank mentioned on page 558, when a piece of the root is placed in the tube leading to the dead man's mouth. The root is, however, frequently used in the Small Islands for magical purposes. Its use in the way about to be described during the rite of announcing an important date is, so far as I know, confined to Vao and to the north coast of Malekula (Harrisson, 2, p. 29, hints at a similar rite in Matanavat). In the corresponding rite in Atchin it is replaced by a fowl. This variation in ritual corresponds also with a difference in the variety of kava used and in the name by which it is known. Thus, in Vao, two varieties are recognised, a large and a small. It is the large variety which is used in this rite, and the name *ne-ghe* used for it is the same as the Banks Islands *gea* (Codrington, 2). The smaller variety in Vao is called *malogha* (see p. 437), which corresponds to the Atchin word *melo*, used for the only variety I recorded on that island, there employed in wind and love magic and for weakening the will-power of an opponent when bargaining for pigs. The word used for this variety is the same as the general word for kava in Maewo, where it is *malowo* (Codrington, 3, pp. 351-2), and in North Raga, where it is *malohu* (Rivers, 1, vol. I, p. 211).

2: Layard E-5 (1914-1915) 1936
OO12 Malekula OO12
Small Islands

their quarrelsomeness among themselves. This characteristic is undeniable,[1] but was mitigated before the coming of the white man by the fact that, living in dense bush and being but poor shots with bows and arrows, the amount of life sacrificed in the course of their wars was very small. Wars would drag on for months without a death. With the advent of the shot-gun matters however suddenly changed. What had before been little more than semi-ritual quarrels assumed quite different dimensions, and the coastal peoples, who were the first to obtain firearms, slaughtered their enemies without mercy. The old rule that wars could not cease till the number of dead, rarely more than one or two, was equal on both sides (this alone showing its ritual nature) no longer held when these were multiplied by tens, and war then came to mean the extermination of entire villages. In this way the people of Atchin had themselves assisted in the complete extermination of entire mainland communities, so that where before the white man's arrival there were flourishing villages was now waste bush. In this way almost the entire population of the semi-coastal villages of north-east Malekula, as well as large sections of the population of Atchin itself, had been destroyed, so that the numbers even on this island had been reduced from what are said to have totalled something in the neighbourhood of 1000 to, at the time of my visit, 401. This had made the natives of Atchin think, and their constant cry was, contrary to the opinion of most white men, "How can we combine to save ourselves?"

One method they adopted was, after the expulsion of the last trader, to allow no alcohol on the island. Though passionately fond of drink when they could get it, they had seen enough of its effects and had themselves evolved such a strong public opinion on the subject that no drink was allowed on the island, though it is true that rare passing cutters reaped a brief reward from some of the younger men.

In matters concerning their own culture there was an increasing disapproval of sorcery. How far this was due to the influence of the white man it is difficult to say. It is however a fact that on all the small islands sorcerers, or suspected sorcerers, were finding life considerably less easy than formerly, as the number of refugee sorcerers on Atchin alone showed.

More important, more concrete than these however was their determination to rebuild and reinforce the best elements in their own culture through the performance, ever more magnificently, of the *Maki* rite. One man, almost alone of the decimated Atchin village of Emil Marur, who had spent years on white men's plantations and at the end had been tricked of all his earnings, was busy during the whole of my stay carving the ten images needed for the rite and by intensive garden work and the rearing of pigs and the re-learning of the details of ritual from the older men, preparing for its performance in order to rehabilitate his and his kinsmen's spiritual and, through them, material fortunes. This man was Mari, who, in the clash with the government mentioned above, was in danger of being taken to prison in Vila for an imagined offence.

A similar case was that of Mataru on Vao, this time an erstwhile convert,

[1] The element of fear, though considerable, was never so great in the island populations as among the Big Nambas, owing to the comparative safety afforded by the sea and the greater breadth of outlook gained through trade with other islands.